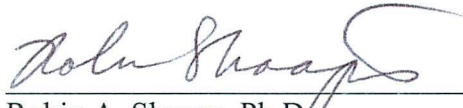


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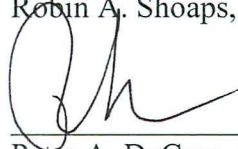
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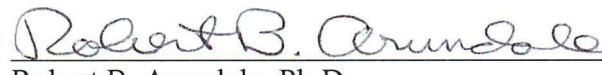
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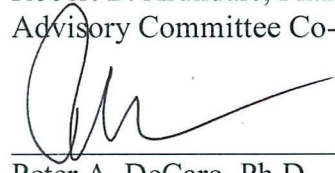
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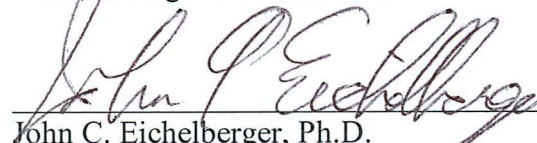


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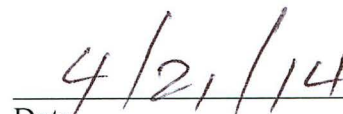
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SPEAKING OF CHANGE: A CONVERSATION ANALYSIS OF
ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE IN A BUSINESS MEETING

A
THESIS

Presented to the Faculty
of the University of Alaska Fairbanks

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Abstract

Current theories of communication in human organizations conceptualize them as entities that are created, maintained, and changed in the everyday discourse among the individuals who comprise them. In arguing this general perspective, however, these theories do not come to grips with how the processes of creating, maintaining, and changing are actually implemented in the actual day-to-day talk that occurs in organizations. This study utilized an abstract characterization of episodic and continuous change in organizations to inform a single-case, conversation analytic investigation of the talk-in-interaction in a recording of business meeting in a small company. The analysis revealed that features of both episodic and continuous change were evident or “hearable” in the talk, in particular the active restructuring of the organizational chart for one division of the company. These changes were evident both in the explicit discussion, as well as in key internal features of the talk such as shifts in the organization of turn-taking. The analysis makes evident that current theorizing in organizational communication in general, and in organizational change in particular, needs to be amended in order to more directly link abstract generalizations about change to the details of how it is achieved in everyday talk.

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Preface

During my undergraduate education I completed internships with two Broadway production companies. Throughout these periods of employment, my assigned tasks varied dramatically from attending industry events and theatrical productions to coordinating with talent. As is commonplace with internships, I was also put in charge of other, not-so-savory duties such as answering telephones, printing agendas, and taking meeting minutes. I much preferred the more exciting parts of both jobs, but it was the more mundane “office” experiences that drew my attention to the field of organizational communication and more specifically, to what happens in business meetings.

The simple thought of a business meeting can bring on a range of emotions, from the elation of a possible promotion, to the desolation of an imminent termination, and everything in between. I have always been interested in the ways in which people organize and communicate in everyday situations, but the institutional framework of the business meeting has attracted my interest because of the added protocol, procedures, and complexities involved. While working in both internships my mind was always focused on the interrelatedness of culture and structure and how they manifested in the form of water cooler gossip, complaints, etc. During this time I also developed a fascination with the ways in which people communicated when the organizations were undergoing periods of flux.

Concurrent with this building curiosity, I was being exposed to Conversation Analysis (CA) for the first time in two classes I was taking as part of my undergraduate education. Always having had an interest in language and how people use it, I quickly

become engrossed in the way CA focusses on what people are accomplishing with their utterances in everyday talk. However, despite my great interest in the *idea* of CA, I never really saw myself completing any type of large project related to it. Yet, after careful thought, I was drawn back to the methodology of Conversation Analysis and decided to employ it as an approach to examining the discursive construction of organizations (Deetz, 1982), in particular in business meetings. As fate would have it, after collecting the audio data for the study and examining it with others during several close analysis sessions, I became convinced that the participants in this meeting were “doing organizational change” in some way.

This study examines organizational change using a perspective that has apparently not been used to date. Building upon existing research in CA on talk in institutional contexts, and on research in Organizational Change/Business Management, organizational change will be examined at the level of the participant’s actions in accomplishing it in their talk with one another, and more specifically in terms of features of talk such as turn-taking, sequence organization, and others. The main goal of this research is not to offer support for any specific theory or framework, but to demonstrate that in the business meeting examined, organizational change, as well as the organization itself, are products of interaction. They are apparent in talk and are not simply abstract ideas or a priori concepts.

Chapter 1:

Literature Review

1.1 Theoretical Framework

As noted in the Preface, initial examination of the interaction in the recording of the business meeting that is the focus of this study indicated that the participants were involved in a change in the structure of their organization. However, a survey of the current literature on organizational change that might inform the study encountered considerable difficulty locating a framework that could be adequately applied to actual face-to-face interaction. Prevailing theories, while interesting and insightful, did not offer enough of a “language” or “process” component to be useful. Having accepted the likelihood that no theory or framework for examining change in terms of everyday interaction actually existed, I began the process of adapting a general organizational change model to my specific needs. After sifting through a number of recent models with little success, I decided to go back to early foundational work on the topic and came upon Lewin’s (1951) model of change. Lewin conceptualized organizational change as occurring via a three-step procedure consisting of “unfreezing, moving, and refreezing” (p. 344). “Unfreezing” consists of making elements of the organization fluid and thus changeable, “moving” entails the actual shift to a new or changed protocol, and “freezing” refers to the final step of re-solidifying the system. Lewin’s (1951) model was of interest and seemed to have promise, but I sought a richer framework with more elements that could be useful for examining talk. Serendipitously I came upon Weick and

Quinn's (1999) work on organizational change which builds upon Lewin's (1951) initial work.

1.1.1 Organizational Change

Weick and Quinn (1999) characterize organizational change as manifesting in two distinct forms: episodic change and continuous change. Episodic change is described as being disruptive in nature and involving existing programs and/or information being replaced rather than altered. This type of change is brought about by an organization's experimentation with solutions in response to problems. Weick and Quinn examined episodic change in terms of the concepts of inertia, the change trigger, and replacement. Inertia, defined as the organization's failure to change as quickly as the world around it (p. 369), can be affected by the organization's deep structure, routines, blind spots, culture, complacency, or technology, and is quite often characteristic of successful organizations because they tend to "discard practices, people, and structures regarded as peripheral to success and grow more inattentive and sluggish in adaptation, and more immoderate in their processes..." (p. 369). Following a period of growing inertia, change will be set off by a trigger which can come from one of at least five sources: the environment, performance, characteristics of top managers, structure, and strategy (p. 369). Lastly, episodic change is assumed to take place via replacement, not by substitution (p. 370).

Harkening directly back to Lewin (1951), episodic change "requires both equilibrium breaking and transitioning to a newly created equilibrium" (Weick and Quinn, 1999, p. 371) and usually refers to planned change backed by active motives. The

first stage, “unfreezing”, requires disconfirmation of any expectations that might exist, induction of learning anxiety by means of the presentation of disconfirming data, and the provision of “psychological safety that converts anxiety into motivation for change” (p. 372). Following this sequence, “changing” (referred to as “moving” by Lewin) occurs through some blend of restructuring and the learning of new standards and protocol though a combination of “identification, positive role models, insight, and trial-and-error learning” (p. 372). Lastly, “refreezing” (referred to as “freezing” by Lewin) refers to the last phase of setting everything back into motion and embedding the new practices, protocol, etc. into existence, and generally takes a considerable amount of time (p. 372).

On the other side of the coin, continuous change is described as more cumulative in nature and can be “viewed as a series of fast mini-episodes of change” (Weick and Quinn 1999, p. 377). Weick and Quinn examine continuous change in terms of the concepts of culture, inertia, triggers, replacement, and scale. The concept of culture is involved here because continuous change implies that there are existing embedded systems and patterns for handling situations as they arise. The idea of inertia in this framework refers to tendencies to normalization or competency traps. Triggers take the form of milestones or dissonance, and replacement takes the form of putting expert practices in place (p. 378). Lastly, scale is an important aspect because continuous change tends to exist on a micro-level and is often seen as being too small to be considered active. However, although these changes start out small they can have major effects on the organization (p. 378).

Continuous change is hallmarked by ongoing development, recurrent feedback, and acceptance of change as continuously taking place, such that “when people act as if change is continuous, organizing constitutes organization, and stability is an accomplishment” (Weick and Quinn, 1999, p. 375). Breaking away from the Lewinian idea of change, continuous change deals more with the difficult issue of “redirecting what is already under way” (p. 379) rather than with the complexities of “unfreezing” as with episodic change. Instead unfreezing, changing, and refreezing, a more appropriate frame for continuous change would be “freeze, rebalance, unfreeze” (p. 379), where “freezing” refers to the process of closely examining a particular sequence, “rebalancing” indicates a shift or a reframing, and “unfreezing” “is to resume improvisation...and learning in ways that are now more mindful...more resilient...and more flexible” (pp. 379-380).

In addition to the fact that Weick and Quinn’s (1999) framework is one of the most comprehensive and versatile frameworks for conceptualizing organizational change, it also attends specifically to language to some extent. The authors suggest that episodic change is created by means of language and persistence, and that it deals with change in terms of immediate action and shorter periods of time (p. 374). Conversely, continuous change is identified as “managing language, dialogue, and identity” (p. 381), language being used to “enable groups to create a shared set of meanings and a common thinking process” (p. 381). Continuous change involves some combination of five different types of speech acts: “assertiveness or claims, directives or requests, commissives or promises, expressives that convey affective state, and declarations that announce a new operational

reality. These speech acts occur in different combinations to constitute four different conversations...change, understanding, performance, and closure” (p. 381).

1.1.2 Organizations as Discursively Constructed

Weick and Quinn’s (1999) focus on specific types of speech acts involved in organizational change can be understood as one take on Deetz’s (1982) widely employed position that organizations are discursively constituted. Deetz argues that “...individual meanings are not primary but arise from deeper meaning structures and...[that] talk is epistemic—knowledge is produced in talk, not simply transmitted and shared” (p. 133). He elaborates on this concept in arguing that (a) orientations are “real activities and meaning in the organization taken up by...[members] in fulfilling organizational roles” (p. 134), (b) that institutionalization, such as meetings, “provide meaning for the organizational activities and objects” (p. 134), (c) that members clarify and shift their own meanings over time, putting it into different contexts and “form[ing] new conceptions” (p. 135), and that (d) organizations are created through “intertextuality” (p. 137). It is through this interaction of meanings that an organization forms and “continue[s] to form” (p. 137).

Krippendorff (2008) provides another discursive perspective in arguing that social organizations exist only in that they are continually being “reconstituted” in the social practices of the organization’s members. An organization is “...*institutionalized* in the sense that its organizational practices are well known by potential participants...” (p. 154). He maintains that the ongoing reconstitutability of a social organization is the paramount signifier of its viability because “...there are no social organizations whose

members refuse or are unable to reconstitute them for whatever reasons” (p. 155).

Krippendorff concludes that organizations are not contexts for interaction, but are the *products* of talk and can be reconstituted on different occasions.

1.1.3 Talk in Business Meetings

The most significant work on organizations as constituted in everyday talk could be considered to be Boden’s (1994) *The Business of Talk: Organizations in Action*.

Boden argues that:

Talk is at the heart of all organizations [and...] by directly observing people talking their way through the business day, we can locate, quite specifically, the structuring of organizations. We can observe structure-in-action. (p. 1)

In a broad sense, Boden presents “an empirical study of the structure of an interactional import of everyday talk in organizational settings,” and tries “to locate this analysis of the ‘business’ of talk within the larger theoretical arena of organizational analysis and general social theory” (p. 1). Akin to Boden’s overall premise in regard to the centrality of talk in “doing organizing,” this study is also focused on presenting an analysis of talk-in-interaction in a business meeting, and on informing that analysis with the with existing literature on organizational change.

This study deviates from the approach taken by Boden in that it does not address issues of “general social theory” in terms of the relationship between agency and social structure. Specifically, this study draws on theory regarding the process of organizational change as a means of focusing the analysis of the talk in the particular meeting examined,

given that the talk in any given business meeting might be examined with respect to many different organizational phenomena. Reflexively, the analysis of the talk informs development of future theory on organizational change because, similar to Boden's work, this study points to the necessity for such theory to address the everyday practices in business through which all change must be actualized if it is to take place.

Boden (1994) looks at talk-in-interaction from an Ethnomethodological perspective (Garfinkel, 1967), and more specifically using the approach to talk developed in Conversation Analysis. In particular, she begins by examining the "interaction order," as she terms it, of business meetings, with a particular focus on their social organization in terms of openings, closings, and turn-taking structure. She argues that "meetings are not...naturally occurring conversations since they have a general predetermined topic or topic agenda, a rather stable potential set of interactants, and some rather specific turn-taking modes" (p. 89) in addition to noting that while "turn order is not fixed... What is fairly fixed, however, is the chairperson's central role in monitoring turn allocation..." In everyday conversations long turns are frequently hearable as stories, and are marked as such (Sacks, 1974), whereas in meetings long turns may not be marked as clearly, and lack recipients' typical interjections of "continuers" that actively pass the opportunity to self-select for a turn at talk.

Additionally, Boden (1994) also examines other aspects of organizational structuring in talk, including the complex processes of coming to decisions, of the discursive allocation of organizational resources, of doing reporting of relevant information, and especially of what she terms "organizational agendas," or the "talk-

based activity through which organizational members pursue local issues, maintain and advance departmental positions, and occasionally even follow a slated agenda” (p. 156). Boden’s focus on doing organizing is less directly relevant for this present study than her discussion of turn-taking, however her broader argument for shifting the study of organizations and organizing toward examination of the sequential details in conversation is directly relevant in what follows.

In addition to Boden’s (1994) pioneering work, the literature on talk in social institutions is growing in general (Heritage, 2005), particularly in the area of talk in business meetings. Recently, a special issue of the *Journal of Business Communication* has focused specifically on “meeting talk” (Asmuß and Svennevig, 2009), and features analyses of managers’ interactional strategies, such as doing influencing, making decisions, team performances, laughter in meetings, social roles and embodied actions, and openings and closings. In particular, there has been a specific focus of attention on decision-making in meetings (e.g., Huisman, 2001). Other research on meeting talk that proved useful was Clifton’s (2006) study in which he examined formulations and other way in which one can “do leadership.” Aspects of many of these phenomena may certainly be found in the talk of the particular meeting examined in this study, although they were not salient features.

Weick and Quinn (1999), Deetz (1982), and Krippendorff (2008) all make assumptions and assertions regarding the role of interaction and talk in organizations and organizing, with Weick and Quinn focusing specifically on organizational change. These assumptions and assertions are very general, however, and appear not to have been linked

directly to actual talk-in-interaction. Moving closer, Boden (1994) argues that talk is central to “doing organizing” and that the development of ways to examine talk-in-interaction in business meetings is quite necessary. If indeed organizations and organizational change *are* created and reconstituted through talk, these phenomena should be evident when interaction in organizational contexts is examined using a method such as Conversation Analysis. Based on the theoretical foundations outlined above in regard to organizational change, the discursive creation and reconstitution of organization, and talk in meetings, I pose the following two research questions:

RQ1: How is episodic and/or continuous change observable in features of talk in a business meeting?

RQ2: How is the organization produced and reproduced through features of talk in such a meeting?

Chapter 2:

Methodology

Each piece of research comes with its own combination of philosophical assumptions and theoretical perspectives that serve as its fundamental foundation. Beliefs about the nature of the world around us and how knowledge is produced guide our research directions just as they guide our lives. This section examines the foundational frameworks of this study, the employed method, and the details regarding the data and their collection.

2.1 Assumptive Framework

An epistemology, or understanding of what constitutes knowledge, is the basis of any venture into research. The present study was established and executed based upon the epistemological views associated with Constructionism and therefore conceptualizes the world as a *product* of interaction, as opposed to as a context in which it occurs (Lindlof and Taylor, 2010). Constructionists view meaning as being “formed through interaction with others” (Creswell, 2013) and seek to uncover interactionally-grounded meanings which are developed through individual interpretation and ascription of meaning. This notion of the world having no inherent truth, and reality being instead created and perpetuated by interaction, is the main thrust of Constructionism. According to Lindlof and Taylor (2010), “...constructionism emphasizes the role of humans in actively using symbolic resources to objectify, circulate, and interpret the meaningfulness of their environments and their existence” (p. 45). In other words, people employ interactional knowledge that they have acquired throughout their lifetimes in order to understand their

environments, as well as to create new knowledge and engage the world around them. One implication of this view of how knowledge comes to exist is that meanings are seen as being free from stasis, and are thus variable. As Crotty (1998) notes, constructionism holds that “there is no true or valid interpretation” and meaning arises from interactions with the world instead of from the world itself. This view does not call the existence of the physical world into question, but rather maintains that meaning is created through interpretation of interactions with the physical world.

Building upon this concept of meaning as the product of interpretation, the present research takes the position that meaning is *socially* constructed and that our realities are the accomplishment of our social interactions. Interactionism builds upon constructionism by directly attending to the notion of the “social world” that is constructed by participants. Blumer’s (1969) work focusses on three assumptions which form the foundation of interactionism. He first posits that “humans act toward things on the basis of the meanings they ascribe to those things” which refers to the idea that people act in ways that are in relation to their understanding. Secondly, “the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with others and the society.” The meanings that people ascribe to “things” in their world are solidly based in interaction and are not preexisting, as commonly thought. Lastly, Blumer states that “these meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters” (p. 180), which points to the centrality of the process of interpretation in constructing knowledge about the world.

Beginning in the late 1940's, Garfinkel (1967) drew on developing work in social construction to "understand how the taken-for-granted character of everyday life is accomplished" (Lindlof, 1995, p. 36), with a focus on construction of meaning through interactional practices such as conversation. Garfinkel (1967) identified his particular approach using the term "ethnomethodology" in his seminal work Studies in Ethnomethodology. Garfinkel maintains that through interaction with others we are not merely following a system that is set in place, but actually working to accomplish a goal. In practicing ethnomethodology, researchers look at talk-in-interaction as the means by which reality is constructed in various contexts.

2.2 Method

2.2.1 Conversation Analysis

Conversation Analysis (CA) has been developed within ethnomethodology as a research method focused on practices of talk-in-interaction, and was chosen as the method for this study because of the desire to focus on the discursive construction of the organization and on features of talk associated with organizational change. Conversation analysis was developed by Sacks (1995) in a series of lectures and further expanded upon by the work of Heritage, Jefferson, Schegloff, and others. Within CA, the analysis of talk focusses on the interactional achievement of stable patterns of structure regarding specific elements of talk such as turn-taking, repair, sequence organization, etc., as in Heritage (1984, chap. 6). In a shift away from the focus of traditional linguistic study, CA attempts to examine naturally occurring conversation in terms of its emergent, non-summative properties. Conversation analysts avoid basing their analyses on inferences

about what is going on in the minds of the participants, or on any prior assumptions about roles, and seek instead to ground their observations firmly in the talk itself (Heritage, 1984). Prior to conducting analysis, recorded data are transcribed using Jefferson's (2004) transcription system, which attempts to account for and adequately represent features of verbal and nonverbal conversation such as pauses, volume, intonation, gaze, etc. Subsequently, the data are analyzed with respect to a range of documented features spanning concepts like storytelling (Mandelbaum, 1989), verbal fillers (Bolden, 2006), identity (Kitzinger & Mandelbaum, 2013), and many more.

In examining conversation, the analyst seeks to uncover participants' interpretations of their talk based upon the orientations hearable or displayed in the talk (Schegloff, 1991, 1992). In other words, the focus is on the "organization of talk which is not subject to functionally specific or context-specific restrictions or specialized practices or conventionalized arrangements" (Schegloff, 1999, p. 407). "Unmotivated inquiry" is intended to direct the researcher's attention away from preconceived notions about interaction that may be based on the context of the talk, and to direct attention toward features of the talk that may have otherwise been ignored or overshadowed (Sacks, 1984). Mandelbaum (1990) argues that conversation analysts do indeed acknowledge a form of context, termed "talk-intrinsic," which refers the elements of context that are apparent from or indexed in the talk.

2.2.2 Analyzing Institutional Talk

While the above overview deals mainly with "basic CA," this analysis seeks specifically to examine practices that occur in an organization, and utilizes a form of CA

identified as “Institutional CA.” To qualify as institutional talk, Heritage and Lindstrom (1998) point out that the participants must display orientations that are identifiable as “institutional” in order for the “context” to be labeled as such. Institutional talk is characterized by the presence of three elements: the interaction involves participants who have specific goal orientations tied to their institution-relevant identities, the interaction includes constraints regarding what is permissible and relevant to the business at hand, and the interaction is associated with specific procedures that are particular to specific institutional contexts (Drew and Heritage, 1992). Additionally, institutional talk tends to differ from ordinary talk in that participants will “distinguish between the ordinary and the institutional dimensions of their interaction” (Heritage, 2005). Research in institutional talk has covered areas such as doctor-patient interactions (Maynard & Heritage, 2005) and talk occurring at city council meetings (Farkas, 2013). In terms of dimensions of talk that characterize talk in institutions, rather than everyday talk, Heritage (2005) identifies turn-taking, overall structural organization, sequence organization, turn design, and lexical choice.

2.2.3 Applied CA

Though CA’s founder Harvey Sacks was not on board with the idea of “instrumental application” of the approach he was developing (Antaki, 2011, p. 2), succeeding generations of researchers have grown to view CA as useful in a number of applications. Antaki identified six different types of applied CA: foundational, which is the application of CA principles across disciplines; social-problem, which refers to its application to social organizations; communicational, which applies the concepts to

“disordered talk;” diagnostic, which involves using CA to determine underlying disorders; institutional, which seeks to shed light on the different features of institutional talk; and interventionist, which is action-oriented research on interactional problems. This present research is an example of institutional applied CA because it seeks to uncover some of the ways in which a business meeting operates. As Antaki explains, in instances of institutional applied CA “...the analyst goes in curious to see how the institution manages to carry off its work...” (p. 7). This type of applied CA has been used to understand the talk of the courtroom, news interviews, doctor visits, and the classroom.

2.2.4 Single-Case Analysis

While much work in CA utilizes corpuses of data consisting of a number of recordings, this study was designed around one single recording and is thus a single case analysis. A single case analysis “involves looking at a single conversation, or section of one, in order to track in detail the various conversational strategies and devices which inform and drive its production” (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008, p. 121). Additionally, Schegloff (1987) notes that this type of conversation analysis is oriented toward doing “what its underlying theoretical conception of talk in interaction requires” (p. 111), which is to be able to apply past research to one specific case. In other words, single case analysis involves researchers utilizing the foundational CA work in addressing a range of conversational issues in a single episode. Also, as Hutchby & Wooffitt (2008) assert, this form of CA is useful for examining the “technology of conversation” and how it functions in specific instances. In short, this study is a single case analysis of institutional

talk in a business meeting, with the analysis employing CA work that has been carried out over the past five decades.

2.3 Data Gathering Procedures and Participants

The data are an audio recording of a business meeting that was captured in August, 2013, at a pool and spa company in New York State. Prior to collecting the data, an application was submitted to the University of Alaska Fairbanks IRB and approved. The goal in collecting the data was not explicitly to capture an instance of organizational change, but to record talk occurring during a business meeting and then analyze it, the original concept for the project involving an examination of facework in the business meeting setting. However, as is common with this type of research, the data dictated a different direction than was previously planned.

The company, L & L, was chosen because the researcher has a connection with a member of the organization and was thus granted permission to set up an audio recorder during one of their meetings. The participants were told in late July that one of their future meetings would be recorded for research purposes and that each employee present at the chosen meeting would be asked to fill out an informed consent form, guaranteeing confidentiality, if they chose to. As will be explained in chapter 3, the meeting that was ultimately captured revolves around a shift in personnel in one of the departments, and the questions and clarifications that surround that happening. I was not present at the meeting, and after the audio was recorded, each participant who was involved completed an informed consent form, necessary in order for their participation to be used in the

research, and the data were subsequently transcribed according to the CA transcription system (Jefferson, 2004).

Chapter 3:

Analysis

While Deetz (1982) asserts that organizations are constructed by participants through talk and Weick and Quinn (1999) maintain that organizational change manifests itself in practices within organizations that can be understood as episodic or continuous change, these scholars do not move beyond their general frameworks to consider either phenomena at any deep level. The audio that was captured for this research exhibits “organizational change” at the surface simply because of the context and theme of the meeting. However, the purpose of this analysis is to employ CA practices to discover and closely examine these concepts from a position firmly grounded in the talk, and to progress the notion that the participants are not simply engaged in a meeting about change, but are actually doing change and recreating the organization through interaction.

3.1 Background for the Analysis

The data are a recording made during a meeting of employees at a pool & spa company in New York State in August 2013. The company consists of various departments including retail, design and construction, and maintenance. The maintenance department deals with everything related to upkeep of the clients' systems, including cleaning and equipment, and includes a vacuum crew of 6-7 individuals which deals solely with cleaning customers' pools and making them look nice. The maintenance department is led by Mike, who oversees the manager of the vacuum crew. This meeting occurred about one week after the then current manager of the vacuum crew, George, was told he was being demoted and the then current secretary, Vickie, was being promoted to

his position. The meeting itself is concerned with informing the vacuum crew about the shift, and about several procedures that are going to change or be implemented.

The complete transcript can be found in Appendix B. The recorded audio is 11 minutes and 28 seconds in length and begins with a segment of overlapping multi-party and dyadic talk among the members of the vacuum crew and staff as they assemble in the room for the meeting. The extent of the overlap makes the segment difficult to transcribe, but Vickie can be heard to ask, "Everybody in here?" More overlapping talk ensues until a three-second gap, following which Mike moves to open the meeting.

The analysis is divided into nine segments beginning at this point. Segment (3.2) includes the formal opening of the meeting and Mike's announcement that the meeting is about Vickie being promoted to Manager of the vacuum crew. In segment (3.3) Mike notes that Vickie will inform the crew about "what she wants" and concludes with some compliments for the crew. Segment (3.4) establishes that the end of the summer season is quickly approaching which leads to Mike addressing the "college guys" who form a segment of the summer crew. In segment (3.5) Mike positions Vickie as someone who can make changes but who isn't very experienced and moves on to do basic problem solving. Segment (3.6) revolves around more problem solving with regard to company cell phones. Segment (3.7) consists of Mike's transfer of the floor to Vickie and her first extended turn. Segment (3.8) continues with Vickie's presentation of a new protocol and also includes directives from Mike, as well as some assurances to the crew that he's "got their backs." Segment (3.9) includes another extended turn in which Vickie closes the meeting.

3.2 George is NOT Being Fired

01 VIC: D' we need ta separate you tw(hhh) .
 02 (3.0)
 03 MIK: Awright, (0.5) so (0.5) uhh:: the reason
 04 for the meeting obviously as I'm sure aw::ll you
 05 guys know iz that uh: (.) George will not be
 06 running vacuuming, George will strictly be in
 07 service, okay? Vickie will be running vacuuming.
 08 from now on. Ehright, that's what's gonna happen.
 09 Now, dat doesn't mean dat if Vickie doesn't pick
 10 up da phone fer you guys that you can't cawl
 11 George. You can still call George okay? Uh::m,
 12 (1.0) I'm sure there been rumors going around an
 13 everything George is NOT being fired. I'll put
 14 that out there right now (1.0) Okay, if that was
 15 one of the rumors that's NOT the case so we can
 16 eliminate that from the talk waves, awright?
 17 He's still a part of it, he's still gonna
 18 have a role. He's not the head of vacuuming,
 19 Vickie is. So what's gonna happen now is Vickie's

Line 1 is the last utterance of the pre-meeting conversations, and talk ceases for 3 seconds before Mike's initiation in line 03. By beginning his utterance with "awright" in line 03, Mike is hearable as "shifting to [a] markedly different topic..." (Beach, 1995, p. 145) from the pre-meeting talk, his subsequent "so" is set off by pauses and is hearable as a preface to new conversational matters, in addition to "doing other-attentiveness" as in Bolden (2006).

Having secured his turn and included a vocalic filler “uhh,” Mike launches directly into stating the reason for the meeting, positioning the statement as something “aw:ll you guys know,” and hence indicates that this meeting is not so much for introducing new information as it is for clarifying some organizational details. In the second part of line 05 through line 08 Mike explicitly outlines the key organizational change that is taking place: George will not be running the vacuuming department anymore and Vickie will be doing so “from now on.” Mike’s assertion of “that’s what’s gonna happen” in line 08 is hearable as reasserting his prior statement; however in his next utterance from lines 09 through 11 Mike adds a qualification, i.e., if Vickie doesn’t pick up the phone, vacuum crew members can still call George. On lines 5 through 11, then, Mike, as manager, has explicitly operationalized a change in the chain of command and in the organizational chart of the company.

After a modest pause, Mike states in lines 12 through 13 that he is sure that “there been rumors going around and everything” and asserts that “George is NOT being fired,” making evident his presumption about rumors among the crew. Mike’s line 13 can be heard as disconfirming or as corrective. After another modest pause Mike reiterates his disconfirmation in lines 14-16, again restating one of his prior statements, as he did in line 08. The segment concludes with Mike’s assertion that George is “still a part of it” and is “still gonna have a role.”

In this first segment, the internal structure of the talk, as well as surface-level features, exhibit facets of both organizational change and organizational reconstituting. As manager, Mike explicitly outlines a structural change he is making: that Vickie is now

in charge of the vacuuming department. However, Mike does not detail exactly what George's new role in the company will be; he only tells the crew members that they "can still call George" if Vickie is not available. Also as manager, Mike takes steps to call to attention any circulating rumors about the situation and to debunk them. Mike's utterance at lines 12 through 16 is hearable as disconfirming any gossip that could potentially be going around, which as Weick and Quinn (1999) point out, might make the matters at hand more relevant and encourage engagement (p. 37).

Beneath these surface actions, the internal structure of the talk reveals the organization being reconstituted. The meeting, as a whole, displays the overall sequential organization of opening, discussion of issues, and closing that Robinson (2013) examines. In this first segment, it is notable that Mike's work in opening the meeting is rather truncated compared to openings observed in other institutional settings. According to Robinson (2013), his early positioning of the "reason for" subsequent interaction, as seen here, as opposed to delaying it, "can be characterized as 'preemptive,'" there being evidence that such preemptive topics "are understood as relatively important/concerning matters" (p. 263). As becomes apparent across subsequent segments, the talk in this meeting is specifically attuned to the details surrounding the changes that Mike outlines in his second and third sentences.

Heritage (1998, pp. 115-119) argues that one of the hallmarks of institutional talk is that the turn-taking structure is "systematically different" from that of everyday talk. In line 03, Mike self-selects and maintains his hold of the floor through this first segment, and on to lines 40-41 where he selects the next speaker. Just as is the case when a would-

be storyteller begins a story (Sacks, 1995, pp. 222-228), the staff and crew present at the meeting collaboratively achieve Mike's multi-turn sequences with him by abstaining from self-selection. Even though this segment contains a series of transition relevance places at which other speakers could "jump in," no one does so, ultimately achieving Mike's extended sequence. By suppressing any self-selection, the organizational members present at this particular meeting position Mike as the manager, and consequently as the individual in the position to focus and guide the meeting. In this way, the overall organization of this division of the company is being actively reconstituted at the internal level of the talk, even though at the surface the explicit topic is change in the organizational structure.

3.3 Vickie's Gonna Tell You

17 MIK: He's still a part of it, he's still gonna
 18 have a role. He's not the head of vacuuming,
 19 Vickie is. So what's gonna happen now is Vickie's
 20 gonna tell you exactly what she wants for the
 21 rest of the season=some a you's are not gonna be
 22 here I know you're goin to college an everything
 23 like that (1.0) but the one's that are gonna stay
 24 okay? Are gonna follow her way. It's as simple as
 25 that. And if I hear any complaints or disrespect
 26 (.5) okay? (hhh) I will handle it personally I
 27 promise you okay, I'm not here to play around.
 28 Okay you guys here are doing a job and got it-
 29 actually have done a great job. A lot of you had
 30 a lot of compliments that was not expecting, okay

31 a lot of you have struggled in certain areas and
 32 shaped it up? That's what I need, okay?

Having repositioned George and Vickie in the organization in lines 19 through 21, Mike states “so what’s gonna happen now,” which signals that he is still in the process of “opening” the meeting (Robinson, 2013) and establishing its course, although Vickie will not get to “tell what she wants” until line 152. Beginning in line 21 and continuing through line 23, Mike makes a distinction between the summer employees who are “goin to college and everything like that” and those employees “that are gonna stay.” This distinction is interesting in reference to line 19 in which Mike, still continuing his opening, characterizes the meeting as being about the position shift between George and Vickie, and more specifically about Vickie’s expectations. In making this distinction Mike creates a divide in the room regarding the pertinence of the information: the employees who are “goin to college and everything” do not need to know about how things will be running in the future and cannot benefit from the information as much as the employees who do not leave at the end of the season. Very specifically, the continuing employees “are gonna follow her way, it’s as simple as that.”

For those employees who are staying, Mike adds in lines 25 through 27 that they are not to complain or disrespect her or he will “handle it personally.” In addition to being hearable as a threat or warning to the crew members, his utterances in lines 24 through 27 could be seen as “doing protecting” because of the “safety net” he places around Vickie with this statement, actions which would not appear to be necessary if there were no foreseeable problems. Mike can be understood here as proactively avoiding issues like dissatisfaction or complaints about Vickie being in the position she is now in.

In lines 28 through 32 Mike makes the stark shift from warning or threatening the employees to complimenting them both directly and indirectly. However, even though his utterances are clearly “doing complimenting,” he qualifies them with the statement that the compliments he received were not expected. Nevertheless, in lines 30 through 32 he states that they “struggled in certain areas and shaped it up” and finishes by telling them that’s what he needs from them, indicating that even though they have received compliments and are going well, there are still areas that could use improvement. Mike finishes this utterance with “okay” which in this instance is hearable as a preface to changing the subject (Beach, 1995).

On the surface of the talk, Mike is hearable as complimenting the crew, despite the fact that his compliments are qualified with the statement that they were “not expected.” This small sequence of complimenting features Mike providing some psychological comfort to the employees, very shortly after introducing this meeting as one dealing with change. According to Weick and Quinn (1999) the provision of psychological comfort is a characteristic the “unfreezing” component of episodic change. Structurally, Mike is still engaged in an extended turn throughout this segment in which his position as a manager is maintained as a collaborative achievement of all of the participants involved in the meeting due to their withholding of self-selection.

3.4 You Guys Have Stepped Up

- 33 **MIK:** we’re at the end of the season. This is the end.
 34 we’re starting to close pools already. Okay so
 35 it’s gonna die down more than it has already.
 36 Uhm people are gonna leave right? You leavin

37 soon? So:: more work will be handed out but
 38 like I said it's gonna die out. So don't start
 39 fading away mentally on me now you know we got
 40 what? Three more months Ray Ray? (0.5)
 41 [about three?]
 42 RAY: [Yeah, pretty much yeah.]
 43 MIK: Three more months. Like I said it dies out each
 44 day as soon as the closings start (.) so (.) uh:m
 45 you guys have done a good job I'm n- I'm not here
 46 to complain about that at aw::l. I really think
 47 you guys have stepped up when some of you were
 48 (1.0) not expected to and did, that's the
 49 impressive part. So I do wanna thank you guys for
 50 that=this is not a- a lecture on, this is just to
 51 introduce Vickie into the game she's gonna tell
 52 you guys what she needs how she needs you to
 53 handle it (0.5) alright you guys are all adults
 54 I know some a you are in college but yer still
 55 a fuckin adult (1.0) alright? So let's handle the
 56 business correctly and leh take care of it the
 57 right way? Ehrright? If you guys have any

In lines 33-39 Mike continues by explicating the fact that they are rapidly reaching the end of the season and work for the vacuum crew is winding down now that pools are closing. In line 39 he directly states that he does not want the employees "fading away mentally" on him which could indicate that he feels that they are already losing morale and he wants them to remain focused. In other words, Mike could be seen

here, as he is when complimenting the crew in lines 25 through 32, as “doing motivating” in an effort to keep up the good work during the last few months of the season. He will do something very similar across lines 63 through 64.

In line 40 Mike formulates the first pair part of an adjacency pair, in this case the question “what? Three more months Ray Ray?” and in doing so selects Ray Ray as the next speaker. After a gap of 0.5 seconds, Mike repeats the question in line 41 and overlaps with Ray Ray’s second pair part answer in line 42. This instance is hearable as overlapping talk, rather than interruption, given that Mike’s self-selection for the repeat coincides with Ray’s response to being selected (Sidnell, 2010, p. 51).

In line 43 Mike repeats the “three more months” that Ray Ray has confirmed and in lines 44 through 49 continues to compliment the employees, making it clear that he is not there to “complain” about anything and that the vacuuming crew has “stepped up” when they were not expected to and this was the “impressive part,” adding his thanks. In lines 50 through the beginning of line 53 Mike first asserts that he is not doing a lecture, then returns to explaining that the meeting is in regard to introducing Vickie and allowing her to tell the employees what she needs, in effect renewing the “opening phase” that Robinson (2013) discusses.

Following this, Mike refers back to the fact that some of the employees are still in college (see lines 22-23) when he states in lines 54-57 that he knows some of them are in college, but that they’re “still a fuckin adult” and should “handle business correctly.” While there is no means of establishing Mike’s view of college students, he clearly

distinguishes them from continuing employees in that “even though” they are in college, they should still be able to act responsibly (e.g., like an adult).

This part of the meeting is still hearable as an opening because Mike is continuing to characterize the meeting in terms of something that hasn’t started yet, as evidenced in line 59 when he states that “this is just to introduce Vickie into the game.” The idea that Mike is doing motivation at the beginning of this excerpt aligns with Weick and Quinn’s (1999) discussion of the second stage of “unfreezing” as requiring the provision of “psychological safety that converts anxiety into motivation for change” (p. 372). Mike’s specific attention to complimenting the crew can be hearable as conveying “psychological safety” because of the simple assurance that they are doing a satisfactory job, and also because of this utterance being positioned so closely following his utterances in the previous segment to “disconfirm” prior notions.

At the surface of his talk Mike is doing work dealing with organizational change, while the internal structure reveals the other participants in the meeting continuing to refrain from self-selecting. Mike’s ongoing talk is thereby conjointly achieved and he is affirmed as manager and in a position to hold the floor for extended periods of time. In segment 3.4 the first exception to this occurs when Mike selects Ray Ray as the next speaker in lines 39 through 40 with “we got what? Three more months Ray Ray?” This utterance requests Ray Ray to confirm that Mike’s assertion of “three months” is indeed correct. Given that Mike is the manager of this specific division, it could be argued that he already knows how much time is left and is accomplishing some other action by asking the question. One possibility is that by selecting another speaker for a brief, pre-

determined turn he is structurally asserting that his extended sequence of talk is not a lecture, just as he asserts explicitly 8 lines later.

3.5 She's Getting Her First Hands Into This

57 **MIK:** right way? Ehright? If you guys have any
 58 questions this is the time to bring it up to her.
 59 Okay? Becuz any changes that need to be made or
 60 anything like that, she'll be able to make it.
 61 Awright? You's gotta be patient though. Remember
 62 she's getting her first hands into this, you know
 63 what I mean?=so (.) it's gonna be a slow row but
 64 we'll get through it all together, ehight? Any
 65 questions right now?=Guhead,
 66 **DAV:** Whadda you prefer I call you on? (.) Like what
 67 line?
 68 **VIC:** You could use the- whatever that wha do- what do
 69 =I show up as when you call me?
 70 **SET:** [Spare.]
 71 **RAY:** [Spare.]
 72 **VIC:** [Spare?]
 73 **MIK:** Spare? What I need you guys to then do is change
 74 that.
 75 **SET:** Tuh Vickie.
 76 **MIK:** Tuh Vickie right, put Vickie on there so at least
 77 you know it's not spare anymore you know what
 78 mean, when yer check- when you get yer phones
 79 back next year it's already on there uhm

80 so just change it up- you don't have spare?
 81 The easiest way tuh do it is call her.
 82 VIC: =Well that's okay cuz I don't have you in
 83 my phone either(h) heh heh hehh
 84 MIK: So- so that'll happen. You need to make sure
 85 you have it on your phones=that's my other thing
 86 phones. If you guys have your phones off I have a
 87 problem with it. If you don't pick it up and it
 88 rings I don't have a problem with that. I assume
 89 you're busy. But if your phone is fuckin off
 90 I have a major problem with it.

Mike inserts an “alright” in line 57 that signals closure of the prior topic (Beach, 1993), and then opens a new topic in lines 57-60 by stating that if anyone has any questions they should be asked now, and that Vickie will be responsible for making any changes. This is hearable as another formulation of the fact that Vickie is now in George's former position as the head of vacuuming and that she is in control of the crew. Line 61 includes another “alright?” that closes this topic, whereupon he opens another in telling the employees that they need to be patient because “Vickie is just getting her first hands into this” and that it's “gonna be a slow row but we'll get through it all together.” Mike's use of pronouns in this situation is interesting because he positions the crew as having to be patient in line 61 with the directive “You's gotta be patient though,” and then suggests in line 64 that “we'll get through it together” which indicates that the crew's patience will result in *everyone* making it through the shift, including him. Mike

then adds another topic closing “alright” and immediately selects another person as the next speaker by asking if anyone has questions at the moment.

As mentioned, one of the limitations of this study lies in the fact that the data consist solely of recorded audio and no video footage. As a result, it must be inferred that Dave raises his hand or gets Mike’s attention in some other way, given that Mike’s “Guhead” in line 65 is followed immediately in line 66 by Dave’s question addressed to Vickie, “Whadda you prefer I call you on?” After a micropause Dave repairs his previous utterance by clarifying that he meant to ask which line he should call Vickie on. Vickie immediately answers in lines 68-69 with what ends up becoming another question, which initiates an insertion sequence that has the purpose of clarifying what her number shows up as on their cellphones. In lines 70-71 Seth and Ray Ray provide identical overlapping answers of “spare,” which complete the insertion sequence. In lines 73-74 and continuing in lines 76-81, Mike completes the sequence begun by Vickie in line by telling the employees that he wants them to change the contact “spare” in their phones to “Vickie” so that it’s clear “it’s not spare anymore” and so their phones are all ready for next year. This switch of phone lines from “spare” to “Vickie” operationalizes Vickie as now having a dedicated phone line and thus being reachable as the vacuum crew manager. In line 80 Mike appears to be reacting to some visibly indicated confusion when he clarifies that those phones that don’t have “spare” as a contact can be fixed simply by calling Vickie.

In reference to Mike’s suggestion that “the easiest way tuh do it is to call her,” Vickie states in line 82-83 that “that’s okay” because she does not have that employee’s

number in her phone either. Because it was followed by her laughter, this utterance can be seen as doing some sort of affiliation along the lines of saying “we’re in the same boat,” or “doing solidarity” because neither of them have each other’s phone number, something they both should have. In other words, Vickie is reciprocating and in doing so positioning herself with the idea that it’s okay to not have everything in order yet.

In lines 84 through 90 Mike concludes the talk about which line to call Vickie on with the directive “You need to make sure you have it on your phones.” He then explicitly announces a redirection of the discussion of phones with “that’s my other thing.” He makes the distinction that he does not care if the crew members’ phones ring and aren’t answered, because he takes that to mean that the employee is busy. But he does “have a major problem with it” if “your phone is fuckin off” and does not ring when called.

Mike positions himself as “one of the guys” with his comment at line 64 that it’s “gonna be a slow row but we’ll get through it together.” He has used the pronoun “we” previously in lines 39-40 when asking “we got what? Three more months Ray Ray?” where the “we” does not suggest “we are united in the face of change” as it does here. Mike appears to actively choose the pronoun “we” at this point to foster a sense of unity in the face of the uncertainty that accompanies periods of organizational change. In effect he is doing ensuring or safeguarding, in accordance with Weick and Quinn’s (1999) discussion of continuous change as being characterized by the management of language, dialogue, and identity so as to enable groups to create shared meaning.

At the same time, the internal turn-taking structure shifts markedly from the “lecture” format that Mike has been employing so far. The turn-taking structure becomes typical of everyday conversation as Mike selects others as potential next speakers at line 65, in contrast to the more restricted turn-taking structure that may characterize institutional talk (Heritage, 2005). Specifically, at line 66, the staff and members of the vacuuming crew stop withholding their self-selection, and although Mike continues to provide directives over lines 76-81 and 84-90, these are related to the talk of the others, rather than to his own continuing talk. This continues to be the case until line 128. At this point in the overall interaction, the group collaboratively achieves a turn-taking structure that incorporates Mike as a participant on the same basis as everyone else.

3.6 The Phone is No Working

91 (2.0)

92 DAV: I need a new charger.

93 MIK: =Okay. That's what I need tuh know. If are not

94 able to charge the shit into your truck, I need

95 to know. That's not y[our problem.]

96 DAV: [Or it's my truck.]

97 It might be my truck.

98 MIK: It couldn be the fuckn truck (.) But will check

99 the charger first.

100 VIC: Yeah test it somewhere we know that it works

101 an then.

102 DAV: It definitely ain't workin in there either.=

103 MIK: It's not?

104 JUA: The phone- the phone is no working.

105 MIK: What do you mean no working?

106 JUA: Sometimes work[sometimes no work.]

107 MIK: [uh I know I know I've seen George

108 first hand=I've seen you guys call it after words

109 and leave a message and it never rang on his

110 phone.

111 JUA: Yes?

112 MIK: It never rang so I gotta [find out]

113 CHR: [Oh we wo]rkin out in

114 the field there's hardly any service wit flip

115 phones.

116 MIK: I know they suck. I know they do, I know they do.

117 JUA: I have to use my personal phone.

118 VIC: Is yers Verizon? (0.5) It's Verizon? Then you

119 know what I'll make sure- I'll- I'll make sure

120 you have my number cuz I'm Verizon so it won't

121 cost ya anything back an forth. Alright? We'll

122 do that (.) cuz I have a lot of the guys only

123 especially texting, it's easier on my own phone.

124 MIK: That's why you have a phone. You know what I

125 mean? Unfortunately it's piece a shit phones.

126 I can't do nothing about that. I wish they were

127 fuckin a lot smarter than what they are but they

128 not.

129 SET: They're not smart phones.

130 MIK: =At all.

Following Mike's assessment of phones that are turned off, there is a 2-second gap before Dave comes in at line 92 to state that he needs a new charger. This statement is hearable as both an explanation and a request. Because the utterance follows directly after Mike's scolding employees who have their phones off, Dave's broken or missing charger could be an explanation of why he is unreachable and not at fault. Dave is also hearable as doing requesting because his statement that he needs a new charger is addressed to those who can supply replacement accessories for company-owned electronics.

Mike aligns himself with Dave's utterance being an explanation in his next turn in lines 93 through 95, beginning with "Okay," which is hearable as changing the subject (Beach, 1995) to "charging issues," and ending with stating that a situation in which the charger is to blame is "not your problem." Dave overlaps Mike in line 96 and continues through line 97 to state that the problem might be due to his truck and this initiates a sequence of problem solving in lines 98 through 103 in which Mike and Dave attempt to work toward a solution to this problem.

In line 104 Juan self-selects to state that "the phone is no working" in reference to the statement made by Dave in line 102 that "it definitely ain't workin in there either" and after asking for and receiving clarification in lines 105-106, Mike responds that he is aware of situations in which George's phone would not ring despite receiving a call/message. Before being overlapped by Chris in line 113, Mike begins to say that he is going to try to figure out the problem, which again is hearable as problem solving and leads to Mike's assessment in line 116 that the phones "suck." In line 117 Juan self-

selects to introduce a new issue of having to use his personal phone, which leads to more problem-solving across lines 118-123 in which Vickie enters to suggest that because she and Juan both “have Verizon” they can communicate for free with their personal phones, which work better than the ones issued by the company. Mike continues with the broader topic with his utterances in lines 124-128 in which he explains that he knows that the phones don’t work well (“Unfortunately it’s a piece of shit phone”) and positions himself as being sympathetic yet unable to help the situation with new technology. In line 129 Seth aligns with Mike’s stance in observing that they aren’t smartphones and Mike follows immediately in line 130 with “at all” further positioning himself as being understanding in light of the unfortunate situation.

3.7 Our Best Protection

148 MIK: Alright so. Any other questions? Before I turn
 149 it over to Vickie. (1.0) Any questions at all?
 150 Ray Ray? Seth? Anyone? (1.0) No? Ahright. Ahright
 151 Vickie the floor’s yers.
 152 VIC: Okay so to be honest I definitely didn’t want
 153 this at George’s expense but unfortunately that’s
 154 kinda the way it worked out. And my knowledge of
 155 the whole thing is sitting across from him for a
 156 year so there’s a lot of stuff yer gonna come to
 157 me and yer gonna see I’m gonna be sittin there
 158 looking goin George what should I do and that’s
 159 what it is so even from you guys that know what’s
 160 going on or that know what needs to be done don’t
 161 be- don’t be afraid I mean advice and help I that

162 that's I'm I'm good with that. So now that we got
163 it (.) our biggest problem is being pretty much
164 t- as far as I'm concerned in the sights of
165 construction who wants to blame us on everything
166 that happens (.) which is kinda what got us in
167 this mess. So: our best protection is to do
168 exactly what we know we're supposed to do (2.0)
169 and to stay ahtta their way=that's- that's the
170 biggest thing so we have to protect ourselves
171 we have to do what we're told whether that's me
172 bein- an for the most part you can count on I'm
173 gonna be told to do something and then yer gonna
174 get told it's not me makin it up tuh tell ya
175 okay? Uhm. We always have to make sure we're
176 returning to pools that aren't perfect (.)
177 these people they're not just paying for us to
178 show up to vacuum for sixty-five dollars, there
179 showing- we're supposed to show up and make their
180 pools pretty and that's what they want and that's
181 what they expect and really that's what their
182 supposed to get so we have to do that. Take
183 pictures (.5) I said this to George last year and
184 honestly if he listened to me it might not a
185 been such a bad thing. Tah- shoot a picture on
186 your way out of a pool (.) shoot a good part
187 shoot a bad part (1.0) and then delete it if
188 if we don't need it we'll delete it it's not a

189 **big deal.**

In line 148 Mike's "alright so" clearly signals a change in topic (Beach, 1995). In lines 148 through 151 he checks thoroughly to make sure that there are no more preliminary questions, and when he confirms, given lack of uptake, that there are no more, he makes the statement "Vickie the floor's yers" signaling both a change in speakership via current-speaker selects next. In doing so Mike links directly back to the opening of the meeting. In segment 3.3 Mike states that the purpose of the meeting is to give Vickie a chance to "tell you what she wants," and in segment 3.4 to "tell you guys what she needs." While much organizational work has been accomplished in the meantime, finally at line 152 that Vickie is formally given control of the meeting.

Vickie begins her turn in line 152 by clarifying that even though she got a promotion because of the series of events that led to George being stripped of his position, she didn't want this at George's expense, but that nevertheless, "that's kinda the way it worked out." She continues in lines 154 through 162 to state that everything she knows about the job she knows from George, and that she will probably be asking him a lot of questions and accepting a lot of advice in the months ahead. Vickie's utterances seem to refer back to the beginning of the meeting when Mike characterizes her change of position as inherently problematic by warning or threatening the employees not to disrespect her.

In line 162 Vickie's "So now that we got it" is hearable as shifting to a new topic (Bolden 2006), and she immediately moves to laying out her understanding of the "biggest problem" that "got us in this mess." In lines 163-166 she states a concern that

the construction division “wants to blame us on everything that happens,” which is hearable as Vickie both positioning herself as “one of the crew” due to her use of the pronoun “us,” as well as positioning the vacuuming crew—the “us”—as one single unit. Given Mike’s initial statement of the reason for the meeting and the previous talk, the “mess” being referred to is hearable as the situation that caused George to lose his position as vacuum crew manager, even though it may not yet be apparent to the members of the vacuuming crew just what issues construction has identified as problematic.

In line 167 Vickie’s “so” begins her introduction of ways the vacuuming crew can “protect” itself against construction, the best way being to “do exactly what we’re supposed to do,” as well as to stay out of construction’s way. Across lines 168-170 she uses “we” to continue to position the vacuuming crew as singular, with herself as part of it, and again raises the necessity of “protecting ourselves” from the construction department. Vickie continues in lines 171 through 175 by making clear that most directives and information will not be coming directly from her, but rather *through* her, which constructs her position in the organizational chart as more of a facilitator. In other words, with this utterance Vickie is saying that most of her job has to do with conveying protocol, rather than creating it, and the crew shouldn’t “shoot the messenger.”

After an “okay? Uhm” in line 175 Vickie begins to clarify what she meant in line 167 regarding doing “what we’re supposed to do.” Across lines 175 through 182 she explicates that the company’s customers are not just paying for their pools to be vacuumed, but for them to be made to look “pretty.” Due to its placement, this utterance

is very likely in reference to issues that occurred during George's tenure. Vickie immediately addresses these issues in lines 183 through 189 by introducing a new procedure of taking pictures of pools to better document their condition. In addition to introducing the procedure she situates it as something that she suggested to George the previous year, and that "if he listened" to her things might have turned out differently. In introducing her new protocol with this statement, Vickie also positions herself as knowing more than George or as being more competent because he didn't utilize this apparently simple solution.

At the surface of the talk in this segment, Vickie acknowledges the shift in the organization that Mike had made which resulted in her new placement. Also congruent with Mike's initial assessment in segment 3.4, Vickie acknowledges that she is just getting started in this position and will most likely turn to George to ask questions while getting acclimated. She immediately steps into the role of manager of the vacuum crew, however, by dissecting the problems and issues that created the "mess," something Mike did not elaborate on.

Internally, Vickie's use of "we" throughout this segment positions her as a member of the vacuuming crew, at the same time as creates an "us" vs. "them" situation in regard to the position of the vacuum crew within the broader organization. In addition, as Heritage (1998) points out, institutional talk may well be distinct from everyday talk in exhibiting markedly different turn-taking structures. This becomes apparent in the way in which the organizational members present at the meeting accept Vickie as manager and position her in that role. Specifically, after Mike tells her that "the floor's yours" in line

151, all self-selection amongst the other employees comes to an end. In effect, they are *making* her manager by granting her the right to an extended period of talk.

3.8 Let Me Interrupt

190 SET: What I did last year was took a video on my real
191 phone cuz it shows the whole pool instead a just
192 a picture. Remember how-
193 VIC: Ya know anything that- anything ya want becuz
194 that way we've got- we've got somethin.
195 CHR: Then delete it at the end.
196 VIC: =Yeah exactly (1.0) exactly. You know it- or-
197 ya know we'll delete 'em at the end if there's
198 something we could forward em to and put' em in
199 the computer and we got 'em.
200 MIK: Let me [interrup]t one second about the=
201 VIC: [Did you-]
202 MIK: =customers. When you notice a problem a lot a
203 you guys write it down which is exactly what
204 yer supposed tah do (.) when you notice a pool's
205 turning on you for whatever reason after two
206 weeks of you goin back and everything (.) we're
207 gonna start a new program on the whiteboard. What
208 yer gonna do is yer gonna bring it to us and say
209 that this persons havin a serious problem and I
210 don't know what's goin on all I need is someone
211 Else to take a look I need different eyes.
212 VIC: Mhm

213 MIK: We're gonna put em in the danger zone (0.5)
214 Uhkay? We'll put em up on the board.=
215 =What's gonna happen is we're gonna keep an
216 eye on these customers an see whats goin on
217 cuz it's not fair to you that we don't back you
218 guys up, okay? Cuz we keep sendin you back Once
219 a week okay? If I know that a pools turned on you
220 and you're trying to react to it we need to go
221 back before the week is over tuh see if it
222 happened. If it hasn't happened then we need
223 to have some other eyes out there. (0.5)
224 It's really to help you guys=I mean take some
225 of that pressure off you guys. Say you fucked
226 up the pool. It's not really you guys. It could
227 be something wrong with the equipment know what I
228 mean and you guys wouldn't know that cuz yer not
229 really fuckin around like that back there (.) ya
230 know? So whenever you run into a confrontation
231 with a customer that the pools turning on it and
232 you haven't been able to correct it within a week
233 you need to let us know immediately. (0.5) We'll
234 put that person on the board and we're gonna
235 start showing up whether it's you guys or my guys
236 cuz they're slow as well you know to see what's
237 goin on. An we'll flip these pools back around
238 faster than a week. And I guarantee that's gonna
239 make you guys look a hell of a lot better. A hell

240 of a lot better awright? So don't be afraid to
241 bring it up. I've seen you try to solve it and
242 that's what you're supposed to do but sometimes
243 we gotta set something else up to protect you to
244 to make sure that what you're doin is correct
245 Or maybe there's a little bit more you could be
246 doing that you didn't know you should be doing.
247 Know what I'm saying? And again that's just to
248 help you out- to help you grow. So that's what
249 we're gonna do. So do not be afraid to-
250 We gotta figure something out about Miss Sipelone
251 let's just say. I was there last week it was
252 green and I reacted to it and it's green again
253 Nothing changed. You know what I mean so there's
254 really no point in you going back and adding more
255 chemicals again if you couldn't figure it out the
256 first time, you understand that's a waste. So
257 let's get that correct (0.5) awright?

Seth's utterance in lines 190 through 192 is hearable as a response to the idea Vickie presented in the previous segment regarding the crew taking pictures of the pools to provide evidence. With this turn he is positioning himself as already "on board" with Vickie's new procedure, having been using that idea since "last year," and as advancing the proposal to include video. At the end of line 190 Seth also makes clear that he uses his "real phone" to take the videos, in contrast to the work-issued flip phones that were mentioned in segment 3.5.

Vickie's utterance in line 193 is technically an interruption because it does not occur within close proximity to a transition relevance place, but nevertheless she aligns herself with Seth in stating that he can use "anything that works," and okays his choice to do something different from the idea she came up with. At line 195, Chris elaborates on the new procedure and Vickie aligns with him. Mike's turn in line 200 is not technically an interruption because it comes at a transition relevance place, although he explicitly says he is interrupting. Vickie's short utterance in line 201 overlaps Mike and suggests that she was about to continue speaking. She cuts off her utterance, however, permitting Mike to continue his "interruption." Lines 202 through 211 involve Mike first mentioning an existing procedure for documenting problems with customers' pools, then describing a "new program on the whiteboard," telling the crew that "what yer gonna do is yer gonna bring it to us..." In line 212, Vickie's utterance, "Mhm," is hearable as aligning herself with Mike about this new program and Mike immediately continues in 213 through 216 to explain the program.

Beginning in line 217, Mike appears to be "doing assuring" again when he tells the crew that "it's not fair to you that we don't back you up." The "we" in this utterance appears to reference not the assembled participants, but rather "management," i.e., Mike himself, other managers like him, or perhaps the company. In doing so, Mike is hearable as identifying a weakness in current operations and assuring the crew that things will improve due to this new program. In lines 224-225 Mike continues to elaborate on the benefits of the new program he has just introduced, positioning it as something intended "really to help you guys." At the end of line 225 and into 226 Mike suggests a very bad

hypothetical situation in which one of the crew members “fucked up the pool,” but then instantly assures them that they wouldn’t be blamed because “it’s not really you guys,” and goes on to suggest the problem could be caused by the equipment, which is something the vacuum crew doesn’t deal with. Mike’s “so” in line 230 prefaces a reformulation (Clifton, 2006) of Mike’s concept of the “whiteboard program” in that it “fixes” the prior talk and creates a definitive version of the utterance. Additionally, Clifton (2006) maintains that formulations are one way in which managers “do leadership.”

In lines 237 through 244 Mike returns to assuring the crew, further cementing the concept that his new program is for their benefit and will make them “look a hell of a lot better.” In lines 239 through 241 he connects the idea of looking better to not being afraid to bring problems up. The remainder of the segment is hearable as Mike continuing to rehash the details of his new program, and it concludes with the statement “Let’s get that correct, awright?”

3.9 Shit Can Happen

258 VIC: Which on that order that’s where I was-gonna talk
 259 about- ya know don’t be afraid to call in issues
 260 whether it’s your own phone or what you were doin
 261 so this way we don’t have any surprises heh heh.
 262 That’s- We don’t want surprises.
 263 [We wanna know something’s happen]ing as it’s=
 264 MIK: [And if you do something wro::ng.]
 265 VIC: =happening so that we can react to it.
 266 MIK: If we break a glass let’s call it in. If we

267 run over a mailbox let's call it in.

268 SET: Back into a basketball ho[op]

269 MIK: [Ok]ay cuz I've been

270 t[here I've done it, okay. I've done it. I know=

271 VIC: [Exactly.]

272 MIK: shit can happen. Stupid shit like that does

273 happen but do not be afraid just call it in and

274 we'll protect you guys when it comes to that

275 (0.5)Awright? G'head,

276 AND: I accidentally broke their thermometer yesterday.

277 MIK: Okay that's wh- Okay that's understandable.=

278 AND: I wrote on the worksheet [And said I apologize]d.

279 MIK: [That's what you need]

280 to do. Now. Did you talk to the customer?

281 AND: They weren't home.=

282 MIK: =Well that's it. If the customer's home do NOT be

283 afraid to man up. All you gotta do is- listen

284 all you gotta do is man up what's gonna end up

285 happening is you're gonna say I've already

286 informed my service department, call them they're

287 gonna let you know what we're gonna do further

288 about this. And then we take it on our hands and

289 figure out what the problem is and how to solve

290 it. Whether we buy it for them again you know

291 what I mean you bring it to them.

292 AND: It was only a little one. I mean I-

293 MIK: That's what I'm saying. Even if it's something

294 big. God forbid you did something with a pump.
 295 God forbid you did something to the- to the
 296 filter always bring it up. Do not be afraid to.
 297 Know what I mean, we're not gonna fuckin crucify
 298 you here. We'd rather solve the problem than let
 299 the problem prolong itself.
 300 VIC: Yeah and it's better to know about it before the
 301 customer calls so that we're ready with the
 302 answers too so it's-
 303 MIK: A wherefore and therefore, ya know what I mean.
 304 so we'll help you out on that. I'm not worried
 305 about that.

In line 258 Vickie self-selects at a transition relevance place, uses the preface “on that order” to position her next turn as being linked to Mike’s comments. In lines 259 through 262, she reformulates the concept behind the new program Mike discussed, and positions it as something she “was gonna talk about,” in effect taking a co-ownership of the idea and linking it to the prior discussion of using phones to do so. Vickie continues her turn in line 262 with “we don’t want surprises,” then in line 263 continues her turn through self-selection. Mike also self-selects at the same transition relevance place, resulting in an instance of overlapping talk, however, in overlapping they are not fully aligned. Vickie’s line 263 is focused on notifying the maintenance division when “something’s happening” and she continues beyond the overlap in line 265 with “so that we can react to it.” In line 264, however, Mike is focused on employees doing

“something wrong,” and he continues in line 266, after Vickie’s utterance, with two examples of mistakes that become the focus the interaction for the next 38 lines.

Following Mike’s examples of possible mishaps that warrant the company getting involved, Seth enters in line 268 with an utterance that could be a joke about an actual event that happened to him or a hypothetical example. Mike aligns with this statement in overlap as he continues in lines 269 through 270 with “I’ve been there, I’ve done it.” He is clearly hearable as positioning himself as “one of the guys,” as well as being understanding of their situation.

Vickie’s “exactly” in line 271 is technically an interruption of Mike because it is not within close proximity to a transition relevance place. Mike does not treat the overlap as interrupting and continues his utterance in progress in lines 272 through 275 to “do assuring” again. Mike selects Andrew in line 275, presumably due to Andrew having signaled Mike in some way, although it is impossible to know from the audio recording.

Andrew’s utterance in line 276 is hearable as confessing because of its placement right after Mike’s encouragement to “just call it in.” Mike accepts the confession with “that’s understandable,” and over lines 278-281 they continue to interact over how Andrew handled the incident. In line 282, Mike generalizes from this actual crew member accident and again explains how reporting such incidents will result in them being handled by the service department as a whole, which is more equipped for certain problems.

Andrew self-selects in line 292 to add that the thermometer was “only a little one,” and Mike returns again across lines 293-299 to assuring the crew, this time that

even big mistakes should be brought up and will be solved. Vickie immediately self-selects at line 300, both agreeing with Mike contributing another reason why issues should be called in as soon as possible. Mike aligns with her utterance and in line 303 utters what Drew and Holt (1998) identify as a “figurative expansion,” which preface a change in topic.

At the surface of the talk in this segment, Mike is positioning himself as being understanding of accidents that occur in the field. As previously mentioned, according to Weick and Quinn (1999), the language used during continuous change is characterized by the conveyance of affective stance, and Mike is hearable as identifying with the vacuuming crew because he’s “done it” before. Mike continues to introduce new concepts to solve problems and to offer support to the crew, and in line 300 Vickie aligns herself with Mike’s ideas and takes ownership of them as she builds upon them. Internally, the turn-taking structure at work in this segment seems to revert back to that of a typical everyday conversation, as evidenced by the instances of self-selection. This section features a problem-solving sequence between Andrew & Mike and his figurative expansion in line 303 effectively ends the period of questioning/problem solving.

3.10 I’m Gonna Cry

306 VIC: (0.5) Kay and the 1- the last thing fer me i::s
 307 (1.0) we need to have a water from every pool.
 308 Not every week startin this week moving forward
 309 from every pool that ya go to everyday. It’s a
 310 one shot deal we need a baseline, after that
 311 either we’re gonna mark and ask ya fer pecific-

312 specific pools or if you see somethin that
313 you know needs something bring back water.
314 Anybody who needs a sharpie I got new sharpies
315 I have tuh go upstairs and get 'em for ya for yer
316 bags (.) and basically that's not like me asking,
317 that's B&B asking so what that means is I was
318 kinda told what we want so I'm telling you so h-
319 now here's where the whole thing really happens
320 when it comes down to it and I get in trouble for
321 something that I did or should've been able to
322 handle and get yelled at it's one thing, but
323 If Craig yells at me for something somebody
324 else did I'm gonna cry and a lot of people are
325 gonna get really pissed off so I would recommend
326 we don't do that. (.) And uhm Jeff wants to be
327 the bulldog and he's apparently not good at it
328 because he hasn't been out yet this morning
329 so uhm we don't really want that to happen either
330 uhm (1.0) we keep him calm and quiet and I think
331 that works. (.) We keep me happy and I think if
332 we all do what we're supposed to do then we'll
333 be fine.

This final segment begins with Vickie self-selecting in line 315 after a brief pause and okay, and an announcement of “the last thing from me.” She then requests water samples from every pool in line 307 and continues to introduce a new procedure to establish a baseline for determining which pools need to be watched. Vickie’s line 315-

315 about Sharpie markers is an aside related to the water samples, but in lines 316 through 318 she can be heard as positioning herself in the company's organizational chart, as well as explaining to the crew, as she did earlier in lines 172-174, that she is not the origin of the information, just the messenger. In addition, her positioning of the company as a whole as asking for the samples, as opposed to her superiors asking, is interesting because it gives agency to L&L and makes the company blamable for the extra work incurred by the new procedures, rather than Vickie, who is just passing on information.

In line 319 Vickie notes "now here's how the whole thing really happens" and proceeds to suggest two hypothetical situations. If she gets blamed for an issue in the company due to something that she did wrong or should have been able to handle that's "one thing" (line 322), but if she gets in trouble for something "somebody else did" she's going to "cry" and a "lot of people are gonna get really pissed off" (lines 324-325). Due to the placement of this utterance immediately after her prior explanation of the new procedure, it seems likely that the vacuuming crew is the "somebody else" Vickie is talking about, and that she does not want to get blamed for their mistakes. Vickie's assertion in lines 324-325 that if she gets "yelled at" then she's "going to cry and a lot of people of gonna get really pissed off" is hearable as "doing threatening" and is very similar to the ways in which Mike was heard as "doing threatening" in the previous segments, and can be seen as Vickie mirroring Mike's actions as a manager and thereby "doing leadership." Afterward, she immediately concludes in lines 325 through 326 by

recommending that “we don’t do that,” the “we” in this case clearly being the crew that is now under her management.

After the vocalic filler “uhm,” Vickie begins in line 326 to describe Jeff (the company’s retail manager) as wanting “to be the bulldog,” but that he’s not doing so well at it. This utterance is hearable as Vickie positioning Jeff as someone who wants either to get the vacuuming department in trouble or to make things difficult for them, which is something “we” want to avoid. Vickie makes clear in lines 330-331 that she believes that if “we keep him calm and quiet that works,” which leads to a reformulation of her earlier threat (lines 324-326) and of her earlier global solution, which was “to do exactly what we know we’re supposed to do” (lines 167-169). In her words, the solution to vacuuming’s current problems is “we keep me happy and I think if we all do what we’re supposed to do then we’ll be fine” (lines 331-333).

On the surface of the talk Vickie can be heard as introducing yet another procedural change for the vacuuming crew, although unlike previous procedural change, Vickie clearly states that this change is NOT coming from her, but rather from someone higher up in the organization, and she carefully positions herself as the “messenger” and not the principal source of this particular directive. Internally, this segment is very similar to 3.6 in that after Mike foreshadows a new topic in the end of segment 3.8, the overall turn organization again shifts to participant withholding of self-selection, and the organizational members present establish Vickie as the manager in allowing her to “talk like a manager.” During this extended turn, Vickie also makes a threat in lines 324-326, very similar to the way Mike threatened the employees in lines 25-27. The final part of

the recorded audio features a shift back into a typical turn-taking structure and the meeting is effectively closed with the statement “That’s it” made by Vickie.

Chapter 4:

Discussion

Chapter 1 examined Deetz's (1982) and Krippendorff's (2008) positions that organizations exist as products of interaction instead of as contexts in which interaction occurs as well as Weick and Quinn's (1999) concept of organizational change. The following discussion will consider what was uncovered through the analysis in light of these theoretical frameworks, and then explore both limitations of this study and directions for future research. As stated in chapter 1, the purpose of this study was to use the above mentioned frameworks to inform the analysis, not to use the analysis to offer support for any theory.

4.1 Organizational Change

In order to conceptualize organizational change, Weick and Quinn's (1999) framework distinguishing episodic change from continuous change was used.

4.1.1 Episodic Change

Episodic change, described by Weick and Quinn (1999) as "changes that tend to be infrequent, discontinuous, and intentional" (p. 365), was hearable in the talk in several ways. Overall, the Lewinian notion of change as a three-step process of unfreezing, changing, and refreezing was apparent throughout the course of the meeting, along with other elements of episodic change such as the management of language and the "invisible hand of institutionalization" (p. 367).

The first step of the episodic change process is "unfreezing." "Unfreezing" itself consists of (a) the disconfirmation of prior beliefs, (b) induction of learning anxiety, and

(c) the provision of psychological support. These three stages of unfreezing are hearable in the talk beginning with the first segment, 3.2, in which Mike “clears the air” in regard to any gossip that might be going on about recent events in the company. By “doing disconfirmation,” Mike could be understood as inducing learning anxiety, which the authors maintain can motivate people to learn, as long as the anxiety is effectively translated into motivation for change. In segments 3.3 and 3.4, Mike does just this by providing psychological comfort for the employees in the form of “doing motivation” and assuring them that they are doing a good job.

While the unfreezing process was hearable solely through surface features of the talk, the process of change is apparent in the meeting both in surface features as well as in internal features, specifically turn-taking behaviors. Weick and Quinn (1999) view the actual change element of the episodic change process as occurring through a clear replacement, and by means of “identification with positive role models...[and] insight” (p. 372). While it is obvious that on the surface the main goal of the meeting was to replace George with Vickie, this replacement is visible at levels deeper than the surface.

After Mike begins speaking in segment 3.2, he is able to freely continue all the way through the segment and into the next without any other speaker self-selection. His position as “manager” is collaboratively co-constructed by all of the employees present at this particular meeting (more on this phenomenon in section 4.2). Considering the fact that at the time the meeting takes place, Mike had been a manager at L&L for a long period of time, this is not surprising. Later, when Mike hands the floor over to Vickie in segment 3.7, participants again withhold their self-selecting, now constructing Vickie as

“vacuuming crew manager” in place of George. So, while the explicit change of inserting Vickie as vacuum manager in place of George is easily hearable at the surface of the talk in segment 3.2, it is also hearable in this particular institutional system of turn-taking, observed at key points throughout the meeting.

Weick and Quinn (1999) also describe change as involving “identification,” which appears to surface in segment 3.9 when Mike introduces a new system for reporting mistakes and mishaps that occur out in the field. In doing so he mentions that the reason that he knows about all of the issues and understands the position that the employees are in, is because he has “been there” and he has “done it” before. By “doing identification,” Mike is framing the change.

The final step of the episodic change process, “refreezing,” or setting everything back into motion, while arguably visible in Vickie’s final lines in segment 3.9, is not explicitly hearable in this particular meeting either at the surface or in the internal structure of the talk. This is not to say that a period of refreezing did not occur at all, but that it is not apparent during this meeting. Furthermore, refreezing is described by Weick and Quinn (1999) as being a difficult, ongoing process.

4.1.2 Continuous Change

In addition to features of episodic change, features of continuous change are also hearable in the talk in the features of language explicated by Weick and Quinn (1999). Continuous change is characterized by an “ongoing, evolving, and cumulative...” (p. 375) process in which “...change... [is produced]...through various kinds of speech acts: assertives...directives...expressives that convey affective state, and declarations that

announce a new operational reality” (p. 381). Weick and Quinn draw on the work of Searle (1979) who describes assertives as displays of the speaker’s belief in an utterance, directives as acts that get the recipient to perform some action, expressives as conveyances of psychological state, and declarations as acts that accomplish an action just by being said.

Throughout the course of the meeting there are many utterances interpretable as assertives, mainly from by Mike, but also from Vickie. One example is in segment 3.4 when he asserts that “you’re all adults,” and continues to position the members of the crew as responsible, despite the fact that they’re “in college.” Additionally, claims are observable in Vickie’s utterances, notably in segment 3.7 when she opens by stating that she did “not want this to happen this way” in characterizing the way in which she ascended to the position of manager. Weick and Quinn (1999) maintain that these conversational actions are associated with the recipients’ acquisition of new information and tend to be uttered right before a new “way of doing things” is introduced, as is the case with this meeting.

Similarly, directives are produced throughout the talk by both Vickie and Mike, mainly while engaged in sequences of problem-solving. For example, in segment 3.5, Mike utters the directive “you’s gotta be patient” in reference to Vickie’s need to get acclimated to her new position. Shortly after he says, “What I need you guys to do then is change that,” and later “You need to make sure you have it on your phones.” These directives occur during a period of questioning or problem-solving regarding Vickie’s contact name on the company-supplied phones.

Likewise, in segment 3.10, Vickie also produces directives when explaining what she expects from the crew. With reference to her explanation of the problem that led to the changes she states that “we have to do what we’re told,” and follows shortly with “we have to make sure we’re returning to pools that aren’t perfect.” While markedly different from Mike’s directives in terms of pronoun use (see section 4.2 for a discussion of pronoun use), these examples also occur during a period of organizational problem solving in which Vickie is explaining how her approach is more viable than George’s.

In terms of expressives that convey affective stance, in segment 3.9 for example, Mike responds to the current talk about accidents that occur out in the field, and affiliates with the crew, by telling them “I’ve done it. I know.” By doing so he characterizes his belief of mistakes as something that happen to everyone, even managers, and clarifies that reporting them is nothing to be ashamed of. Weick and Quinn (1999) maintain that these types of actions “...enable groups to create a shared set of meanings...” (p. 381), and Mike is hearable as doing such.

Lastly, declarations announcing a new operational reality abound in the talk, not surprisingly due to the nature of the meeting. While a variety of examples could be discussed, a very direct example can be seen in segment 3.2, when Mike states: “George will not be running vacuuming, George will strictly be in service, okay? Vickie will be running vacuuming. from now on. Ehright, that’s what’s gonna happen.” In this utterance, which occurs at the very beginning of the formal meeting, Mike is clearly hearable as “announcing a new operational reality” because the purpose of his utterances

at this point in the talk is to explicitly convey that George will no longer be running vacuuming, and Vickie will be.

4.1.3 Change in this Meeting

The above discussion addresses the first research question, “how is episodic and/or continuous change observable in features of talk in a business meeting?” but one might seek a more clear cut classification of this meeting as one type of change or the other. The discussion above suggests this meeting is weighted more toward episodic change; however elements of continuous change are also visible in the talk. Therefore, to classify this period of change in this organization as one type or another would be mistaken based on the present analysis. A more productive course of action would be to characterize the meeting as manifesting each type of change. Episodic change is hearable in the talk at the surface level and through talk’s internal features such as institutional turn-taking. This process is most distinct surrounding Vickie’s closing talk as the new manager, as well as during the introduction of new procedures and responsibilities. However, elements of continuous change are hearable as well in the language used both in overtly introducing changes, and during sequences of problem-solving and questioning. While it would be unfounded to assume that language associated with continuous change can exist in periods of episodic change, that possibility arises in considering the inter-relation of these two types of change, as they are manifest in closely examining the details of change as actually achieved in talk.

4.2 Discursive Production and Reproduction of the Organization

Using Deetz (1982), and to a lesser extent Krippendorff (2008), as jumping off points, the second research question posed in this study asked “how is the organization produced and reproduced through features of talk in such a meeting?” Typically, the organizational chart of a company is a visual illustration of the hierarchy of a company, and of the exact placement of various departments and employees within it. However, if organizations are discursively constructed and on-goingly reconstituted in talk, then one would anticipate that in daily interaction within an organization one would continually both hear references to the relationships among groups and people represented in the visualizations, and encounter actions being achieved that are consistent with those relationships. That assumes, of course, that the organizational chart is an adequate representation of the existing relationships. If it is not, then the operative organizational structure is the set of relationships constructed, maintained, and changed in interaction. Major components of the organizational chart of L & L were hearable in the meeting talk in both surface and internal features such as positioning, pronoun use, turn-taking, and the use of formulations.

As mentioned above in discussing the manifestations of episodic change, the turn-taking structures apparent in this meeting clearly enact L & L’s organizational chart. As soon as Mike begins talking in segment 3.2 at the opening of the meeting, the other employees hold off on taking the floor through self-selection, and continue to do so for 38 lines of talk before another employee gains the floor after being selected by Mike. After a one line reply, Mike goes on for another 24 lines before selecting another

speaker. Mike is hearable as being the manager because all the employees he manages co-construct him as having that role by allowing him to hold a turn of this length.

Later on in the meeting in segment 3.6, Vickie finally takes the floor. In the interim she has participated in the segments of interaction in which the turn-taking has reverted to something more closely resembling the flexible structure characteristic of everyday conversation. At the start of segment 3.6 Mike explicitly gives Vickie the floor, but just as when Mike was speaking at the opening, the rest of the employees immediately begin withholding their self-selection. In being accorded exactly the same participation structure as Mike, the participants are also co-constructing her as a manager. So while there is surface evidence of the organizational chart hearable in the talk, the internal turn-taking structure of the talk also positions Vickie and Mike as managers and the vacuuming crew as below them in terms of the whole organization.

On the surface, the organizational chart is also hearable in two other distinct ways: through the use of pronouns by Vickie and Mike, and in the way that Vickie positions the vacuuming team in relation the other sections of the company. The following excerpt from segment 3.8 illustrates the use of pronouns:

202 **MIK:** =customers. When you notice a problem a lot a
 203 you guys write it down which is exactly what
 204 yer supposed tah do (.) when you notice a pool's
 205 turning on you for whatever reason after two
 206 weeks of you goin back and everything (.) we're
 207 gonna start a new program on the whiteboard. What
 208 yer gonna do is yer gonna bring it to us and say
 209 that this persons havin a serious problem and I

210 don't know what's goin on all I need is someone
 211 Else to take a look I need different eyes.
 212 VIC: Mhm
 213 MIK: We're gonna put em in the danger zone (0.5)
 214 Uhkay? We'll put em up on the board.=
 215 =What's gonna happen is we're gonna keep an
 216 eye on these customers an see whats goin on
 217 cuz it's not fair to you that we don't back you
 218 guys up, okay?

The above excerpt shows Mike characterizing the vacuuming crew as a “you” in terms of their responsibilities and the tasks they must carry out. However, in line 206, he uses “we,” and returns to using it across lines 213-217. Mike is hearable here as positioning himself as separate from the vacuuming crew and in the position of telling them what to do, but when he talks about reporting difficult situations he uses “we,” which is hearable as positioning the company (and himself) as accepting of mistakes and being “there for them,” IF need be.

This excerpt from segment 3.7 reveals some of Vickie's use of “we:”

162 VIC: that's I'm I'm good with that. So now that we got
 163 it (.) our biggest problem is being pretty much
 164 t- as far as I'm concerned in the sights of
 165 construction who wants to blame us on everything
 166 that happens (.) which is kinda what got us in
 167 this mess. So: our best protection is to do

In contrast to Mike who uses “you,” Vickie only uses the pronoun “we” when addressing the vacuuming crew and giving them directives, never once separating herself from crew

in any of her talk. Evidently she is positioning herself as a part of the crew, not as a manager who is separate from them, as in Mike.

In further positioning the vacuum crew within the company in segment 3.7, Vickie states that the vacuuming crew's "biggest problem is...construction who wants to blame us on everything." In identifying this problem with this utterance, Vickie is both positioning the vacuuming team as being in a difficult situation in relation to the construction department, and suggesting an overall climate of competition and "protecting ourselves" from the company as whole.

Lastly, L & L's organizational chart is apparent in the introduction of new procedures and ways of doing things through the conversational actions of "formulations." In Clifton's (2006) analysis, formulations in business meetings occur at the end of lengthy periods of talk and serve to "fix" the talk and formulate it into one definitive version. Throughout this meeting, new procedures are introduced and at the conclusion of almost all of them a formulation occurs. The following excerpt is from segment 3.9:

282 MIK: =Well that's it. If the customer's home do NOT be
283 afraid to man up. All you gotta do is- listen
284 all you gotta do is man up what's gonna end up
285 happening is you're gonna say I've already
286 informed my service department, call them they're
287 gonna let you know what we're gonna do further
288 about this. And then we take it on our hands and
289 figure out what the problem is and how to solve it.

Mike's utterance follows a long sequence of problem-solving regarding the proper protocol for what to do in the event something breaks while cleaning a pool. This extruded formulation is a version of the talk that has been jointly constructed over the course of the conversation preceding it, and it serves to fix or solidify that talk. Such instances of formulation signify the discursive production of the organization because they bring about new organizational realities, and as Clifton (2006) also notes, they can be seen as "doing leadership," which is consistent with their occurrence solely from Mike.

Certainly the relationships among departments and persons represented in an organizational chart are but one part of the structural and procedural makeup of an organization. The analysis in Chapter 3 suggests strongly not only that one can find the organizational chart being operationalized in the on-going discourse of an organization, but also that in and through that talk, the organization is being continually reconstituted, and in the process being continually maintained, even while it may also be undergoing change, in some cases continually, and in some cases episodically. If the organizational chart can be continually reconstituted, perhaps other parts of an organization's structural and procedural makeup are likewise being constituted, maintained, and changed in talk-in-interaction.

As a closing remark regarding this study and its findings, it can be seen as distinct from the existing work on talk in business meetings, such as that of Boden (1994), in that this present study does not seek to use the analysis to comment on "general social theory," but rather attempts to use theory to inform the analysis, demonstrating that

organizational change and its discursive production and reproduction of organizations is visible through various features of talk in interaction.

4.3 Limitations and Future Research

As stated previously, one of the major limitations of this research was that the data were recorded as audio-only and did not contain a video element. While much early Conversation Analysis work was done with audio-only recordings, as years progressed it became obvious that elements such as the participant's gaze and nonverbal communication were relevant in analyses. This research would have benefitted from video data at several points, most notably during periods of multi-party talk. However, as the research questions were specifically worded to focus in on "features of the talk," the analysis remains valid.

Another limitation of this research, as with all research endeavors, is that it cannot address all of the potentially relevant features of talk that were noted during the analysis. This limitation speaks both to the scope of the project and to the richness of the data. For example, an entire thesis could most likely be focused in on the use of pronouns, and more specifically on Vickie's use of pronouns throughout the meeting or Mike's use of tag questions. The scope of this project and the design of the research questions led to an exploration of how elements of organizational change and of the discursive creation of organizations are visible in the talk, but there is much more to be found in these data alone using Conversation Analysis, or applied CA with a different focus.

CA is a remarkable approach for examining the structure and features of talk-in-interaction. This study sought to apply CA as an analytic approach, together with its

extensive findings regarding the features of talk-in-interaction, as lenses through which to better understand the discursive accomplishment of episodic and continuous change as observed by Weick and Quinn (1999). Future research on these issues will benefit from an examination of Weick and Quinn's concepts of episodic and continuous change in terms of features of talk. Utilizing this distinction proved difficult at times because while the authors intended it to be a general and versatile distinction, there are elements of episodic change and continuous change that seem to blend together, making it difficult to discern which was actually occurring at points throughout the talk. Regardless, this research has shown that elements of these two types of change are visible at the surface of talk and also through structural details, which indicates that a change framework specialized for talk would be useful.

In addition, further research shedding light on the general discursive construction and reproduction of organizations would be valuable. While Deetz (1982) and Krippendorff (2008) assert that organizations are accomplished discursively, they are vague in describing how that might take place. This research focused in on aspects of the construction and reproduction of an organization through talk, such as the operational organizational chart. Further development of this concept of discursive organizational construction in terms of talk-in-interaction could open doors for CA research on organizations, and on other understandings of organizational change.

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Appendix A

Transcription Conventions

Conversation analysis utilizes the transcription system developed by Jefferson (2004) to show features of talk not normally notated in typical writing. The following is an explanation of the various transcription symbols used throughout this paper.

word?	Rising Intonation
word.	Falling Intonation
word,	Continuing Intonation
wor:d	A held or elongated sound
^word^	Encloses talk that is higher pitched than surrounding talk
word	Encloses talk that is softer than surrounding talk
wor-	A sudden stop in talk, a break
[word]	Encloses talk that overlaps with other utterances
<u>word</u>	Marked emphasis
>word<	Encloses talk that is notably faster than surrounding talk
<word>	Encloses talk that is notably slower than surrounding talk
(word)	Encloses talk that is questionable in the accuracy of transcription
word=	Indicates a minuscule gap between utterances
(#. #)	The number inside the parentheses indicated a pause in seconds
(.)	Micro-pause

Appendix B

Full Transcript

01 VIC: D' we need ta separate you tw(hhh) .
 02 (3.0)
 03 MIK: Awright, (0.5) so (0.5) uhh:: the reason
 04 for the meeting obviously as I'm sure aw::ll you
 05 guys know iz that uh: (.) George will not be
 06 running vacuuming, George will strictly be in
 07 service, okay? Vickie will be running vacuuming.
 08 from now on. Ehright, that's what's gonna happen.
 09 Now, dat doesn't mean dat if Vickie doesn't pick
 10 up da phone fer you guys that you can't cawl
 11 George. You can still call George okay? Uh::m,
 12 (1.0) I'm sure there been rumors going around an
 13 everything George is NOT being fired. I'll put
 14 that out there right now (1.0) Okay, if that was
 15 one of the rumors that's NOT the case so we can
 16 eliminate that from the talk waves, awright?
 17 He's still a part of it, he's still gonna
 18 have a role. He's not the head of vacuuming,
 19 Vickie is. So what's gonna happen now is Vickie's
 20 gonna tell you exactly what she wants for the
 21 rest of the season=some a you's are not gonna be
 22 here I know you're goin to college an everything
 23 like that (1.0) but the one's that are gonna stay
 24 okay? Are gonna follow her way. It's as simple as
 25 that. And if I hear any complaints or disrespect
 26 (.5) okay? (hhh) I will handle it personally I
 27 promise you okay, I'm not here to play around.
 28 Okay you guys here are doing a job and got it-
 29 actually have done a great job. A lot of you had
 30 a lot of compliments that was not expecting, okay
 31 a lot of you have struggled in certain areas and
 32 shaped it up? That's what I need, okay?
 33 We're at the end of the season. This is the end.
 34 We're restarting to close pools already. Okay so
 35 it's gonna die down more than it has already.
 36 Uhm people are gonna leave right? You leavin
 37 soon? So:: more work will be handed out but
 38 like I said it's gonna die out. So don't start
 39 fading away mentally on me now you know we got
 40 what? Three more months Ray Ray? (0.5)
 41 [about three?]
 42 RAY: [Yeah, pretty much yeah.]
 43 MIK: Three more months. Like I said it dies out each
 44 day as soon as the closings start (.) so (.) uh:m
 45 you guys have done a good job I'm n- I'm not here
 46 to complain about that at aw::l. I really think
 47 you guys have stepped up when some of you were
 48 (1.0) not expected to and did, that's the
 49 impressive part. So I do wanna thank you guys for

50 that=this is not a- a lecture on, this is just to
51 introduce Vickie into the game she's gonna tell
52 you guys what she needs how she needs you to
53 handle it (0.5) alright you guys are all adults
54 I know some a you are in college but yer still
55 a fuckin adult (1.0) alright? So let's handle the
56 business correctly and leh take care of it the
57 right way? Ehright? If you guys have any
58 questions this is the time to bring it up to her.
59 Okay? Becuz any changes that need to be made or
60 anything like that, she'll be able to make it.
61 Awright? You's gotta be patient though. Remember
62 she's getting her first hands into this, you know
63 what I mean?=so (.) it's gonna be a slow row but
64 we'll get through it all together, ehight? Any
65 questions right now?=Guhead,
66 AND: Whadda you prefer I call you on? (.) Like what
67 line?
68 VIC: You could use the- whatever that wha do- what do
69 =I show up as when you call me?
70 SET: [Spare.]
71 RAY: [Spare.]
72 VIC: [Spare?]
73 MIK: Spare? What I need you guys to then do is change
74 that.
75 SET: Tuh Vickie.
76 MIK: Tuh Vickie right, put Vickie on there so at least
77 you know it's not spare anymore you know what I
78 mean, when yer check- when you get yer phones
79 back next year it's already on there uhm
80 so just change it up- you don't have spare?
81 The easiest way tuh do it is call her.
82 VIC: =Well that's okay cuz I don't have you in
83 my phone either(h) heh heh hehh
84 MIK: So- so that'll happen. You need to make sure
85 you have it on your phones=that's my other thing
86 phones. If you guys have your phones off I have a
87 problem with it. If you don't pick it up and it
88 rings I don't have a problem with that. I assume
89 you're busy. But if your phone is fuckin off
90 I have a major problem with it.
91 (2.0)
92 AND: I need a new charger.
93 MIK: =Okay. That's what I need tuh know. If are not
94 able to charge the shit into your truck, I need
95 to know. That's not y[our problem.]
96 AND: [Or it's my truck.]
97 It might be my truck.
98 MIK: It couldn be the fuckn truck (.) But will check
99 the charger first.
100 VIC: Yeah test it somewhere we know that it works
101 an then.
102 AND: It definitely ain't workin in there either.=
103 MIK: It's not?

104 JUA: The phone- the phone is no working.
 105 MIK: What do you mean no working?
 106 JUA: Sometimes work[sometimes no work.]
 107 MIK: [uh I know I know I']ve seen George
 108 first hand=I've seen you guys call it after words
 109 and leave a message and it never rang on his
 110 phone.
 111 JUA: Yes?
 112 MIK: It never rang so I gotta [find out]
 113 SET: [Oh we wo]rkin out in
 114 the field there's hardly any service wit flip
 115 phones.
 116 MIK: I know they suck. I know they do, I know they do.
 117 JUA: I have to use my personal phone.
 118 VIC: Is yers Verizon? (0.5) It's Verizon? Then you
 119 know what I'll make sure- I'll- I'll make sure
 120 you have my number cuz I'm Verizon so it won't
 121 cost ya anything back an forth. Alright? We'll
 122 do that (.) cuz I have a lot of the guys only
 123 especially texting, it's easier on my own phone.
 124 MIK: That's why you have a phone. You know what I
 125 mean? Unfortunately it's piece a shit phones.
 126 I can't do nothing about that. I wish they were
 127 fuckin a lot smarter than what they are but they
 128 not.
 129 SET: They're not smart phones.
 130 MIK: =At all.
 131 RAY: Just so ya know, I'm comfortable with you calling
 132 my cell phone. I hav[e- I]pay for unlimited
 133 VIC: [okay.]
 134 RAY: [anyway so.]
 135 MIK: [I'm just s]aying I don't wanna waste your mon-
 136 SET: I'm unlimited everything too.
 137 RAY: I don't have a problem just so you know.
 138 SET: But I would prefer you not to call it.
 139 VIC: Okay.
 (Laughter)
 140 VIC: Yeah actually that- cuz yer other- yer phone
 141 hadn't been working and that was why I had
 142 yer, cuz you gave me yers yeah.
 143 SET: An because he has a batman hat on at work.
 144 VIC: HA ha ha ha ha ha.
 145 MIK: I kinda like it.
 (1.0)
 147 SET: An he's annoying me about fantasy football.
 148 Alright so. Any other questions? Before I turn
 149 it over to Vickie. (1.0) Any questions at all?
 150 Ray Ray? Seth? Anyone? (1.0) No? Ahright. Ahright
 151 Vickie the floor's yers.
 152 VIC: Okay so to be honest I definitely didn't want
 153 this at George's expense but unfortunately that's
 154 kinda the way it worked out. And my knowledge of
 155 the whole thing is sitting across from him for a
 156 year so there's a lot of stuff yer gonna come to

157 me and yer gonna see I'm gonna be sittin there
 158 looking goin George what should I do and that's
 159 what it is so even from you guys that know what's
 160 going on or that know what needs to be done don't
 161 be- don't be afraid I mean advice and help I that
 162 that's I'm I'm good with that. So now that we got
 163 it (.) our biggest problem is being pretty much
 164 t- as far as I'm concerned in the sights of
 165 construction who wants to blame us on everything
 166 that happens (.) which is kinda what got us in
 167 this mess. So: out best protection is to do
 168 exactly what we know we're supposed to do (2.0)
 169 and to stay ahtta their way=that's- that's the
 170 biggest thing so we have to protect ourselves
 171 we have to do what we're told whether that's me
 172 bein- an for the most part you can count on I'm
 173 gonna be told to do something and then yer gonna
 174 get told it's not me makin it up tuh tell ya
 175 okay? Uhm. We always have to make sure we're
 176 returning to pools that aren't perfect (.)
 177 these people they're not just paying for us to
 178 show up to vacuum for sixty-five dollars, there
 179 showing- we're supposed to show up and make their
 180 pools pretty and that's what they want and that's
 181 what they expect and really that's what their
 182 supposed to get so we have to do that. Take
 183 pictures (.5) I said this to George last year and
 184 honestly if he listened to me it might not a
 185 been such a bad thing. Tah- shoot a picture on
 186 your way out of a pool (.) shoot a good part
 187 shoot a bad part (1.0) and then delete it if
 188 if we don't need it we'll delete it it's not a
 189 big deal.
 190 SET: What I did last year was took a video on my real
 191 phone cuz it shows the whole pool instead a just
 192 a picture. Remember how-
 193 VIC: Ya know anything that- anything ya want becuz
 194 that way we've got- we've got somethin.
 195 AND: Then delete it at the end.
 196 VIC: =Yeah exactly (1.0) exactly. You know it- or-
 197 ya know we'll delete 'em at the end if there's
 198 something we could forward em to and put' em in
 199 the computer and we got 'em.
 200 MIK: Let me [interrup]t one second about the=
 201 VIC: [Did you-]
 202 MIK: =customers. When you notice a problem a lot a
 203 you guys write it down which is exactly what
 204 yer supposed tah do (.) when you notice a pool's
 205 turning on you for whatever reason after two
 206 weeks of you goin back and everything (.) we're
 207 gonna start a new program on the whiteboard. What
 208 yer gonna do is yer gonna bring it to us and say
 209 that this persons havin a serious problem and I
 210 don't know what's goin on all I need is someone

211 Else to take a look I need different eyes.
 212 VIC: Mhm
 213 MIK: We're gonna put em in the danger zone (0.5)
 214 Uhkay? We'll put em up on the board.=
 215 =What's gonna happen is we're gonna keep an
 216 eye on these customers an see whats goin on
 217 cuz it's not fair to you that we don't back you
 218 guys up, okay? Cuz we keep sendn you back Once
 219 a week okay? If I know that a pools turned on you
 220 and you're trying to react to it we need to go
 221 back before the week is over tuh see if it
 222 happened. If it hasn't happened then we need
 223 to have some other eyes out there. (0.5)
 224 It's really to help you guys=I mean take some
 225 of that pressure off you guys. Say you fucked
 226 up the pool. It's not really you guys. It could
 227 be something wrong with the equipment know what I
 228 mean and you guys wouldn't know that cuz yer not
 229 really fuckin around like that back there (.) ya
 230 know? So whenever you run into a confrontation
 240 with a customer that the pools turning on it and
 241 you haven't been able to correct it within a week
 242 you need to let us know immediately. (0.5) We'll
 243 put that person on the board and we're gonna
 244 start showing up whether it's you guys or my guys
 245 cuz they're slow as well you know to see what's
 246 goin on. An we'll flip these pools back around
 247 faster than a week. And I guarantee that's gonna
 248 make you guys look a hell of a lot better. A hell
 249 of a lot better awright? So don't be afraid to
 250 bring it up. I've seen you try to solve it and
 251 that's what you're supposed to do but sometimes
 252 we gotta set something else up to protect you to
 253 to make sure that what you're doin is correct
 254 Or maybe there's a little bit more you could be
 255 doing that you didn't know you should be doing.
 256 Know what I'm saying? And again that's just to
 257 help you out- to help you grow. So that's what
 258 we're gonna do. So do not be afraid to-
 259 We gotta figure something out about Miss Sipelone
 260 let's just say. I was there last week it was
 261 green and I reacted to it and it's green again
 262 Nothing changed. You know what I mean so there's
 263 really no point in you going back and adding more
 264 chemicals again if you couldn't figure it out the
 265 first time, you understand that's a waste. So
 266 let's get that correct (0.5) awright?
 267 VIC: Which on that order that's where I was-gonna talk
 268 about- ya know don't be afraid to call in issues
 269 whether it's your own phone or what you were doin
 270 so this way we don't have any surprises heh heh.
 271 That's- We don't want surprises.
 272 [We wanna know something's happen]ing as it's=
 273 MIK: [And if you do something wro::ng.]

274 VIC: =happening so that we can react to it.
 275 MIK: If we break a glass let's call it in. If we
 276 run over a mailbox let's call it in.
 277 SET: Back into a basketball ho[op]
 278 MIK: [Ok]ay cuz I've been
 279 t[here I've done it, okay. I've done it. I know=
 280 VIC: [Exactly.]
 281 MIK: shit can happen. Stupid shit like that does
 282 happen but do not be afraid just call it in and
 283 we'll protect you guys when it comes to that
 284 (0.5)Awright? G'head,
 285 AND: I accidentally broke their thermometer yesterday.
 286 MIK: Okay that's wh- Okay that's understandable.=
 287 AND: I wrote on the worksheet [And said I apologize]d.
 288 MIK: [That's what you need]
 289 to do. Now. Did you talk to the customer?
 290 AND: They weren't home.=
 291 MIK: =Well that's it. If the customer's home do NOT be
 292 afraid to man up. All you gotta do is- listen
 293 all you gotta do is man up what's gonna end up
 294 happening is you're gonna say I've already
 295 informed my service department, call them they're
 296 gonna let you know what we're gonna do further
 297 about this. And then we take it on our hands and
 298 figure out what the problem is and how to solve
 299 it. Whether we buy it for them again you know
 300 what I mean you bring it to them.
 301 AND: It was only a little one. I mean I-
 302 MIK: That's what I'm saying. Even if it's something
 303 big. God forbid you did something with a pump.
 304 God forbid you did something to the- to the
 305 filter always bring it up. Do not be afraid to.
 306 Know what I mean, we're not gonna fuckin crucify
 307 you here. We'd rather solve the problem than let
 308 the problem prolong itself.
 309 VIC: Yeah and it's better to know about it before the
 310 customer calls so that we're ready with the
 311 answers too so it's-
 312 MIK: A Wherefore and therefore, ya know what I mean.
 313 so we'll help you out on that. I'm not worried
 314 about that.
 315 VIC: (0.5) Kay and the l- the last thing fer me i::s
 316 (1.0) we need to have a water from every pool.
 317 Not every week startin this week moving forward
 318 from every pool that ya go to everyday. It's a
 319 one shot deal we need a baseline, after that
 320 either we're gonna mark and ask ya fer pecific-
 321 specific pools or if you see somethin that
 322 you know needs something bring back water.
 323 Anybody who needs a sharpie I got new sharpies
 324 I have tuh go upstairs and get 'em for ya for yer
 325 bags (.) and basically that's not like me asking,
 326 that's B&B asking so what that means is I was
 327 kinda told what we want so I'm telling you so h-

328 now here's where the whole thing really happens
329 when it comes down to it and I get in trouble for
330 something that I did or should've been able to
331 handle and get yelled at it's one thing, but
332 If Craig yells at me for something somebody
333 else did I'm gonna cry and a lot of people are
334 gonna get really pissed off so I would recommend
335 we don't do that. (.) And uhm Jeff wants to be
336 the bulldog and he's apparently not good at it
337 because he hasn't been out yet this morning
338 so uhm we don't really want that to happen either
339 uhm (1.0) we keep him calm and quiet and I think
340 that works. (.) We keep me happy and I think if
341 we all do what we're supposed to do then we'll
342 be fine.